2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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had probably had different names before his father's time but that the division into two big groups of "mature, middle-aged" men was always characteristic of Gros Ventre organization. This same informant was likewise under the impression that a man would have to stay with whichever of the two societies he, with his company, had originally joined. Turn Toes said however that he had known a few cases of men who had originally been Stars later joining with the Wolf-men, and of one Wolf-man who afterwards joined the Stars. These known cases, however, occurred fairly late in Gros Ventre history, and probably after the formation of new companies had ceased.

Sanctions of Force

Social sanctions were seemingly the most important means of control. Public opinion was effective in all aspects of conduct. Public disapproval meant loss of prestige and in more severe cases made itself felt by "shunning." It was brought to bear upon the individual in an especially effective way through ridicule, as exercised particularly in the enemy-friendship.[21]

A considerable number of misdeeds, like theft or failure to observe the rules in ceremonial life, were believed to result automatically in supernatural punishment ("bad luck"). Fear of retaliation through witchcraft also exerted a restraining influence.[22]

There were only three situations in which sanction through physical force was applicable. These were, first, failure to obey the rules of behavior promulgated by the society in charge while any one of the Sacred Dances was in progress; second, murder; third, adultery on the part of the wife.[23]

In regard to the first, it is quite clear that in case one of the Sacred Dances had been vowed, the whole tribe had to come together and remain united until the rite was finished. "If the bands happened to be scattered at the time a Sacred Dance was to

[21] For a discussion of the enemy-friendship, see pp. 102–06.

[22] Cf. also pp. 169–70 for a discussion of social and other types of motivation proposed to children. Witchcraft is dealt with in detail in Cooper, Ms., 1949.

[23] A detailed treatment of punishment for adultery is given in pp. 183–90, and will not be discussed in this section.

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shoulders and barking like wolves—the party sang three songs, one to accompany the scouts as they made each circle.[5]

The two older men who met the scouts were told by them privately what they had seen. The four then went to a mound of buffalo chips which had been piled up, the rest of the party awaiting the scouts standing in a semicircle—the women, if present, behind the men—and all facing the direction from which the scouts had come. They sang while the two warriors and two scouts circled the mound of chips four times.[6] After each of the two older men had recited his war deeds in scouting for and locating the enemy, they called upon the scouts to relate to the whole party the results of their expedition.[7]

It sometimes happened of course that there would be no time to go through the above ceremony if the enemy were approaching. But if time allowed it was done in that fashion.[8] Then the leader laid out plans to steal horses and/or get scalps, according to the news which the scouts had brought in. The leader would instruct the rest of the party where to meet after the raid, how long to wait there before starting for home, what signals he would use to indicate the moment of attack, and what signals of identification were to be used between members of the party should it be dark when they closed in on the enemy. It was stated that the Gros Ventres usually attacked in the evening after dark, whereas the Sioux were more apt to attack in the early dawn. Should the plans of the leader not seem satisfactory, some of the party might offer objections. The leader, feeling himself responsible for the safety of all members of the party, put forth his case, but the others were not bound to follow him and, if no agreement could be reached, the party might split. One consideration which tended to keep the party together was, however, the fact that there was a fine paid to the rest of the party by one returning to camp ahead of the others.

[5] A song without words, recorded as No. 14, accompanied the first circling. Songs at the second and third circling had words, composed by enemy-friends of the scouts, the words usually being both derisive and vulgar.

[6] This was recorded as No. 15.

[7] Kroeber's account, p. 191, differs slightly. Cf. also Curtis, v. 5, pp. 181-82.

[8] The formalities of scouting were carried out in detail during the ceremonies of the Sacrifice Dance. See Cooper Ms. 1949.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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743 no choice but to accept. If he did not accept, there was no legal punishment inflicted such as physical violence, killing or banish-
[681] ment, but rather a supernatural one. It was thought that some grave evil would befall the person chosen if he did not accept the office.

The two following episodes, narrated by The Boy, from his father's and his own life throw some further light on the elective system and prevalent attitudes of reluctance to being elected as keeper. While the keepership carried with it great prestige, the reluctance is quite understandable in view of the severe restrictions and taboos that went with the keepership.

"When Lame Bull was a young man, just having reached maturity, he had a very close good friend, Kitfox Head. The two solemnly agreed that they would never become keepers of either the Flat or the Feathered Pipe, as being a keeper meant having a hard life. They agreed to avoid this office but to work hard in order to become outstanding men, warriors, with a life of freedom. They so grew up and married, remaining fast friends all the time.

"When Lame Bull was in his thirties, before reaching middle age, the Gros Ventres were on one occasion camped at the eastern end of the brush nearest to where St. Paul's Mission now is. Lame Bull, who then had three wives, was sleeping soundly one night when an old woman came to the door of his tent, woke him up and warned him: 'They are perhaps going to make you keeper. A big crowd is on its way, making for your lodge.' Lame Bull said to one of his wives: "Look out and see if the old woman is right.' She did and said: 'Yes. They are here close.'

"The crowd was too close for him to escape through the door, so he pushed his way out through the back of his lodge. Once out he gave one look back, saw the crowd and dashed for liberty. He ran round west and north to the right of the canyon up from where the Mission now is and into the mountains, leaving his wives.

"The first two wives made their way out through the door. The keeper stood at the door but could not prevent their escape as his hands were engaged in holding a pipe. The 'strong man' of the crowd was too busy looking for Lame Bull to think of the wives.

½ [i.e., the elector as Keeper of the Flat Pipe. -Ann 7/57]

7: Flannery E-5 (1940, 1945) 1947
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796 178 533 [625 681] were supposed to come prepared with pipe, tobacco, and matches in anticipation of this song. If, for some reason, one of the four was unable to furnish at least a pipeful of mixture, and could not borrow one, he was immediately arrested by the owners of the whips and punished by the singers who might tear his shirt at the neck so everyone could see it, or, perhaps, pour over him a good cupful of broth made from dog flesh. This broth has a strong and lasting odor. The female officers were likewise expected to give the women singers a smoke. The smoking song marked an intermission. No one danced to this song and all sat around smoking and taking it easy.

796 178 If things got too dull, however, one of the owners of the whips might get up, call the announcer, and say: "Tell my friends that I am going to whip them if they don't dance. I will have the right to whip them because I am going to pay for it," and he would present a bridle, or perhaps five dollars, or something of that order of magnitude, to anyone he wished. It was understood, then, that the next time the singing started this man might hit any person,—even one of the "chiefs,"—who failed to dance.

Another feature reminiscent of the original Grass dance but showing some slight change, was the provision that anyone who wished might have it announced that he was going to "lock the door," which meant that nobody could go home until the dance was over. For doing this however he had to provide all the necessary food for another Grass dance to be held on the night immediately following. It was up to the owners of the whips to enforce the regulation by taking something valuable, say a hat [689] or a blanket, from anyone who left the dance and the article was forfeit if he failed to return.

796 178 626 Based on the same concept, the practice grew up of forcing attendance in the following way. Once in a while the owners of the whips might order their assistants to go from door to door in the whole community and take something belonging to each householder, say a bridle, or a valuable belt, or a gun, and bring it to the dancing-place. If the owner of the object were not at the dance, his property was returned to him only if he promised